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out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *ahtes* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

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862 the mother is pregnant, but many mothers do not wean the child until he shows definite symptoms of becoming ill. If weaning due to a new pregnancy occurs before two years, the mother and father are said to be inconsiderate of their infant. Weaning at one year sometimes occurs because the mother is ill or has insufficient milk. Although women frequently complain that they become thin and tired when they nurse, or that they receive painful bites, they rarely wean a child for these [858] reasons. A few mothers regularly wean their children at eighteen months. Weaning may be delayed in the case of a favorite child, to avoid making him cry.

One mother, who suffered from sore nipples, decided to wean her three-year-old son while her husband was away. When her husband came home that night he became angry and said that if the boy cried, the mother would receive a beating. Many people believe that the longer a child is nursed, the stronger he will be. It is not uncommon for the youngest and last child to be nursed as long as he wishes, sometimes for four or five years. Some believe, however, that after two years of nursing, the child begins to drink the mother's blood "like a bat," and that nursing a child too long will make him stupid.

When the mother decides to wean the child she places a bitter substance (*sávila*) on the nipple, often in the child's presence, and tells him that her breast is sore and that he may no longer nurse. Some mothers wean *por derecho*, that is by binding the breasts and not permitting the child to see them again. But many do not bind the breasts for several days, and if the child cries or begs hard he is given the breast so that he "will not be angry" with the mother. If the child continues to [824] nurse despite the *sávila*, a more bitter substance (*prodigiosa*) [5] is applied. Today, bicarbonate of soda, iodine, alcohol, etc., are also used. A child is considered difficult to wean if he continues to nurse despite the "medicines" applied. Crying, even if prolonged over eight days, is viewed as a normal part of weaning. In general, the younger the child the more difficult he is to wean. A delicate or sickly child may be treated more gently, by gradually reducing the number of nursings for eight or fifteen days before weaning is begun, but few women do this. Since so many children are nursed for at least two years, most of them are weaned in a few days. Few mothers consider weaning difficult.

Many women have a great deal of milk, and their breasts are painful during weaning. Some express the milk with their hands to relieve the pain, others cannot and must rely on binding. Hot alcohol is rubbed on the breasts and back, or heated [757] tortillas are placed on the breasts, to ease the pain. Another technique is to heat the *tejolate* (pestle) and rub the breast with it. It is believed that nursing should not be resumed once the breasts are bound because the milk changes and acts as a [825] purgative. When milk is expressed, it is generally buried in the earth in a place where the ants will not get to it so that the mother will have a good supply of milk for her next baby. Some women express the milk into a cloth and throw it over the roof for the same reason.

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[5] *Colrosantus.*

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Most families attempt to console the child during weaning. He generally receives more attention from his mother and continues to sleep with her. However, most mothers do not carry the child during weaning because of the pain in their breasts. The child is generally carried about by others in the family, is given little toys or goodies, and is taken visiting. The child starts to eat with the family, and this is often presented to him as a compensation for the loss of the mother's milk and usually serves to divert him. Occasionally, if a child is inconsolable and cries hard for a long time, particularly at night, the mother, or more usually the father, will lose patience and spank him hard and then frighten him into silence by telling him the coyote will come to eat him. Sometimes a child will be taken to sleep at his grandmother's house for a few nights.

Illness and death are frequent in children after weaning. Often the illness or death is attributed to indigestion or *ético* (tuberculosis?), in which the child wastes away. These are associated with the changed diet of the child at weaning, and it is highly probable that these children do not receive sufficient nourishment, or are given foods unsuited to the digestive systems of young children. Many women wean *con pura tortilla*, that is, with inadequate food substitutes. These children are shifted to the diet of the adult, which consists of tortilla, beans or bean soup, rice or noodles prepared with much lard or oil, and black coffee. In some families children of two are also permitted to eat chile and various local seeds which, whether toasted or raw, are difficult to digest. The best traditional method of feeding a weaned child is to give him an *atole* of ground corn cooked in milk, if the family can afford it, or in water, and sweetened with cinnamon and brown sugar. Many women say that children never become ill if given this food daily for one, two, or six months after weaning. Today better-to-do and more acculturated families wean with a daily diet of eggs, cereals, milk, soups made of chicken or meat, and vegetables and fruit, in addition to the traditional foods. Sometimes cooked meat and bread are given to a small child, even when the rest of the family cannot afford to eat them. This diet, however, is limited to very few children.

Chipilez, or jealousy, is an important childhood illness which begins when the mother of the child again becomes pregnant.[6] The world *chipil* (jealous) is derived from the Náhuatl *tzipitl* which means last or smallest one and refers to the jealousy of the youngest child toward the expected baby. It is believed that nursing children can tell from the taste of the pregnant mother's milk that a new child is coming, and the illness is due to the fact that they are now "carrying the weight of the baby," a euphemistic term for jealousy. Weaning is begun with the first display of symptoms. Children who are no longer being nursed but who still sleep with the mother are able to "sense" the coming of another child and may also become *chipil*. Young husbands are also subject to *chipilez* when their wives become pregnant for the first time. They also are "carrying the weight of the baby," since there is no other child to do so. The symptoms of *chipilez* are pain all over the

[6] This illness is well known in many parts of Mexico, including the large cities, but, to my knowledge, it has not been reported in anthropological literature.

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753 body, diarrhea, loss of appetite and weight, pallor, and weakness. In fact, almost
862 any symptom or illness during this time is called *chipilez*. It is said that husbands
843 become sleepy and do not want to work. A husband can be cured by wearing a
755 strip of his wife's skirt around his neck.

In the case of children, there is no known cure, and mothers try to comfort the child with more attention. Grandmothers often advise against too much kissing and embracing of the child when he is *chipil* because it "makes the burden heavier." Indeed, the greater attention required by the sick child makes more difficult his later adjustment to the withdrawal of the mother at the birth of the next baby. It
843 is said by some that if a child is very *chipil*, the next baby will be of the opposite sex, and if the child is not very ill, the next baby will be of the same sex.

165 Sometimes a *chipil* child dies before the birth of the next child, and several families attribute as many as four or five deaths of children to *chipilez*. From the symptoms and number of deaths, and from the obvious relation to weaning, it is highly probable that many cases of *chipilez* are due to nutritional deficiencies or intestinal parasites. Most children and all husbands recover at the birth of the new baby, for, it is said, "Tlayish qua mak awa," (the weight is lifted).

EARLY CHILDHOOD

855 The transition from infancy to childhood is characterized by the breaking of the close ties between the mother and the youngest child. This process begins at weaning and generally culminates with the birth of the next sibling. As we have seen, in this interval of from two to four months, most children become *chipil*, losing their symptoms after the birth of the baby. Other children continue to be ill, sometimes for several months or even years. This illness reflects the widespread
593 sibling rivalry which exists among children.

855 Children in Tepoztlán are not prepared for the arrival of a new sibling. When delivery is expected, the children of the house are sent to sleep with the grandmother or a relative or neighbor. When they return home the next morning they
864 are told their parents have bought a new baby, and they are shown their new brother or sister. The initial reaction of the children may be one of pleasure, curiosity, or apprehension, the latter particularly on the part of the younger children. Older girls often express displeasure, and some even scold their mothers for buying a new child because the burden of raising it usually falls upon them. A girl of thirteen said to her mother after the birth of another child, "You cannot even buy us good food or shoes. Why did you buy another child?"

855 Jealousy and hostility on the part of the other children, particularly the younger
865 ones, are so common as to be considered inevitable and normal. Children often call the baby names and, if not watched, may slap, pinch, or throw him on the ground. Small children, too, scold their mother for buying the infant and beg her to return him. A mother said that her four-year-old son used to stand at the gate and call to passers-by to take away his little sister. Jealous children are often regarded with amusement by adults, but striking the infant or mother in jealousy is quickly